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ABSTRACT

This paper is a working model for a new one- or two-semester civics education program for high school students. The paper is divided into four major sections. Part I treats existing civics programs and explains how the Politics and Participation Program seeks to correct two general problems facing the schools and civic education - 1) it attempts to develop a civics course that enables a student to develop some explanatory generalizations about the operation, organization and interaction of a political system; and 2) it seeks to allow the student to participate in the school community for the clarification of abstract political concepts through concrete experience. Part 2 presents the analytical framework that guides the course content and explains how the major political concepts of the framework may be used to answer relevant questions; Part 3 focuses on the basic learning activities of the program; and Part 4 sets forth a general outline of the course. The purpose of this new course is: to offer students a systematic framework for studying various political questions; to teach them the skills necessary to use the analytical framework; to use the school as a laboratory for practical experience; and to give them opportunities to participate responsibly in the life of the school. (FDI)

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An Alternative Approach to the Study of Politics and Government in Senior High Schools

Judith A. Gillespie

Allen D. Glenn

SP005402

Occasional Paper No. 4

The High School Curriculum Center in Government
Indiana University

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The High School Curriculum Center in Government
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1129 Atwater Avenue
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Preface

The High School Curriculum Center in Government was established jointly in July, 1966, by the Department of Political Science and the School of Education at Indiana University with funds provided by the U.S. Office of Education. Most of the period since 1966 has been used to design, develop, evaluate, and diffuse a two-semester course entitled American Political Behavior. APB has been used experimentally by several thousand students from grades eight to twelve in all regions of the nation and in a wide variety of schools. After three years of field trials, the APB course is finished and will be published by Ginn and Company in January, 1972.

In September, 1970, two members of the High School Curriculum Center in Government began to design a new program for the eleventh and twelfth grades. They sought to design a program that would create an alternative to existing civics courses by employing a comparative systems framework, by affording maximum flexibility for teachers, and by using the school as a laboratory for learning about politics.

The Politics and Participation program is much different today than it was in September, 1970, and is certain to undergo further modifications before student materials are ready for classroom trials in 1971-72. Nevertheless, we believe that curriculum developers have an obligation to report on their work periodically. While many people are primarily interested in the final product, i.e., the student materials, many others are interested in the ideas, the techniques, and approaches that are guiding the development of new materials.

Therefore, we asked Judy Gillespie and Allen Glenn to pause in their development of student materials and to set forth some of the ideas that have guided their work. The paper is not a final, articulated document describing a new program; rather it is a working paper, published in the hope that it will stimulate the thinking of others who share our interest in high school civics instruction.

Shirley H. Engle, Chairman

Howard D. Mehlinger, Director

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POLITICS AND PARTICIPATION

Introduction

A variety of instructional materials have been developed over the last few years to help students study politics. A current survey of the various curriculum projects reveals over forty different projects have produced materials bearing some relationship to political science.[1] Of these, the High School Curriculum Center in Government is one of the few whose major purpose is to develop and test new materials specifically for civics instruction.

At the present time two courses are being developed by the Center's staff. A course entitled American Political Behavior, which will be published by Ginn and Company in January, 1972, focuses on understanding individual and group political behavior. In this course we seek to examine people's political behavior through the techniques of social science.

Politics and Participation, a civics education program for twelfth graders, is also being developed. The civics or government class will serve as the locus for this program and will provide information, stimulation, and opportunities for discussion, exploration, and analysis of various political questions. A range of political systems, including the school, the community, and the nation-state, will be studied. Using a political systems framework and comparative analysis, the course will offer the student a

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[1]Mary Jane Turner, Materials for Civics, Government, and Problems of Democracy: Political Science and the New Social Studies (Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Education Consortium, 1971).

systematic framework for studying various political questions and provide him with experiences which will: (1) teach him the skills necessary to use the analytical framework, (2) use the school as a laboratory for practical experiences, and (3) give him opportunities to participate responsibly in the life of the school.

This paper is a working paper for the new program. The paper is divided into four major sections. Part I treats the existing civics program. It presents two general problems facing the schools and civic education and what we feel is needed to lessen these problems. Part II presents the analytical framework that guides the course content and explains how the major political concepts of the framework may be used to answer relevant questions. Part III focuses on the basic learning activities of the program. Part IV sets forth a general outline of the course.

Part I -- Answering Political Questions

The decade of the 1960's can be characterized as a period in which many individuals and groups actively and openly demonstrated their concern over public policy. Civil rights, the Vietnam war, and pollution were issues that aroused critical concern in many people. Among those citizens who expressed their discontent and who asked pertinent political questions were the young adults of American society. Students sought answers to the problems of conflict and change that dominated political life. They asked about the future of the political system and, in particular, about their own future. Most important for the system itself, they sought the knowledge and the means to enable them to participate effectively in the decision-making processes that determine the future.

The students of the 1970's are asking similar questions about political life. Much of their questioning and discontent with the larger political system is now, however, directed toward the political system which applies most directly to them -- the school. Students from both the vocal minority and silent majority are asking their schools why courses do not provide needed insights into their political questions and their understanding of the school and larger political system. More important, students are frustrated by their inability to exercise some of their political knowledge and skills in the decision-making processes in the school community.[2]

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[2]Alan Westin and Dean Murphy, "Civic Education in a Crisis Age: An Alternative to Repression and Revolution" (Occasional paper from the Center for Research and Education in American Liberties, Columbia University and Teachers College, September, 1970). Simon Wittes, People and Power: A Study of Crisis in Secondary Schools (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, 1970).

The significant questions that face the schools during the 1970's therefore are: how can they most effectively cope with students' questions and how can they make the educational experience stimulating and rewarding. There are, of course, no easy answers to these questions. However, if improvements can be made in courses, such as government, that focus on politics, and if there can be an increase in the participatory opportunities for students in the school community, some of the conflicts of the schools may be met.

Political Instruction in the School

An examination of the educational literature and empirical research on traditional courses in civics and government reveals that these courses do not provide the necessary insights into politics which are needed to enable students to deal with their own questions.[3] Traditionally these courses attempt to explain the organization and operation of the political system by focusing on legalistic, historical descriptions of various governmental institutions. The executive, legislative, and judicial branches are investigated in detail and many facts and figures are presented for the student to digest. Institutions are emphasized over process, and government is presented in its most formal sense.

Such courses do not link the various institutions of government in any significant manner, and they do not discuss political change. The political system is presented as a static system, one which is

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[3]For a general discussion of civics texts, see C. Benjamin Cox and Byron G. Massialas, eds., Social Studies in the United States: A Critical Appraisal (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967).

merely photographed and the subsequent picture described. The dynamics of political change are of little interest to most civics authors and if discussed change is presented historically through chapters on "The Struggle for Freedom," "The Founding of a New Nation," and "Our Living Constitution."

Comparative techniques to clarify differences and similarities among various political systems are used sparingly. Most comparisons are used to show that the American political system is superior to all others and that Americans have more freedom and equality than other peoples.[4] Even in newer materials such as Schultz's Comparative Political Systems: An Inquiry Approach the author chooses to compare on a one-to-one, process-to-process, or characteristic-to-characteristic basis.[5] She does not extend her analysis to a discussion of relationships or the effects of variation among different system components.

Most civics and government texts also consistently fail to provide students with the necessary skills needed to answer political questions.[6] Students in very few cases are given the opportunity to use and to develop the skills of social science methodology. Some authors suggest that the student use an "inquiry" approach, but this technique is seldom directly explained. Most often the student is expected to generalize from end-of-chapter

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[4]Byron G. Massialas, "American Government: We Are the Greatest!" in Social Studies in the United States: A Critical Appraisal, ed. by C. Benjamin Cox and Byron G. Massialas (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1967), pp. 178-179.

[5]Mindella Schultz, Comparative Political Systems: An Inquiry Approach (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1967).

[6]Massialas, loc. cit.

questions to "higher" levels of thinking. How he is to reach these levels is unclear.

Students also are not given the opportunity to examine value questions and a range of political actions.[7] Civics and government texts are devoid of controversial topics but full of superficial moralizing.[8] The most common alternatives for political action discussed are voting and letters to congressmen. Very few authors provide any insights into how these actions may or may not affect a given issue or what other alternatives are available and the consequences of choosing the alternatives.[9]

These and other weaknesses characterize most civics and government textbooks. Texts are "dictionaries" of political phenomena but have little explanation for what occurs in politics. They fail to provide the student with significant insights into why the system is the way it is, where it may be going, and what can be done about it. Instead, they rely on the students' recall of factual knowledge on the assumption that, given enough facts, they will understand the political system and be able to make political decisions.

It is no surprise, consequently, to find that empirical research

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[7]Mark Krug, "'Safe' Textbooks and Citizenship Education," School Review, 68 (Winter, 1960), 463-480. James Shaver, "Reflective Thinking, Values, and Social Studies Textbooks," School Review, 73 (Autumn, 1965), 163-166.

[8]Ibid.

[9]An example: One source simply notes that, "If particular laws are unjust, or cumbersome, or out of date, he (the good citizen) seeks improvements, for bad laws lead to disrespect for the law in general." George Bruntz and John Bremer, American Government (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1965), pp. 60-61.

indicates that civics and government courses are irrelevant and nonfunctional for the vast majority of students.[10] It also is no surprise to learn that students are very critical of the civics and government courses that are now required by most schools. Because these courses provide little understanding of the operation of a political system and because students are given little opportunity to gain a better understanding of politics, open frustration and, in some cases, violence are becoming more and more common in the schools.[11] The gap between adults and young adults on the means necessary to effect social change in the American political system continues to widen.[12]

How can civics and government courses be changed to provide a more realistic and meaningful picture of politics? There are many ways. However, the following considerations are crucial if political questions are to be answered. First and foremost, courses must seek to provide some basis for explaining the organization, operation, and interactions of a political system. Questions of why the system is the way it is, where it is going, and what the individual can do about it must be examined and some general explanations attempted. Second, in order to develop explanatory generalizations a framework of analysis must be constructed and applied

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[10]Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 92-119.

[11]Wittes, op. cit.

[12]A recent Gallup Poll indicated that 44% of the college students sampled felt violence was necessary to bring about change; only 14% of the general public sampled had similar feelings. Louisville Courier-Journal (January 21, 1971).

systematically to various political actions, interactions, and relationships. This framework must pertain to a variety of political systems and must focus on common political concepts.

The Politics and Participation program contains resource materials which include such a framework. This analytical framework is described in detail in Part II of this paper; however, it may be briefly described here. The framework permits the student to: (1) describe the organization and operation of a political system, (2) point out the relationships among various parts, and (3) examine the concepts of change in a dynamic manner.

The framework is applied to the study of the political system as a whole. The whole system is defined as a set of political characteristics and the ways in which these characteristics influence each other. By studying systems as a whole the student will be able to examine the ways in which various political values influence political behavior and in turn the ways in which political behavior influences political values. For example, when the student investigates the effect of the distribution of wealth on the ways that decisions are made in the political system, he will also study the way the distribution affects decision-making.

The use of comparison determines and clarifies differences and allows one to examine alternative models of political organization and relationship. For instance, to evaluate the two-party system in the United States one might conduct an examination of other countries' party organizations. Comparison lends clarity and increases the explanatory power of the analytical framework.

As noted above the framework is contained in a core of resource materials. These materials focus on a discussion of political

systems, their major concepts, characteristics, and relationships, and provide the student with information which is specifically related to a particular political concept. The content centers on four common political experiences -- change, maintenance, development, and conflict. Units of study are developed around seven major political concepts -- decision-making, leadership, ideology, participation, communication, influence, and resources. (These concepts are defined and related to the analytical framework in Part II.) Through the study of these units the student will be able to gain insights into questions concerning the organization, operation, and direction of a political system.

Included in these resource materials are exercises which teach the student process and inquiry skills he will need to use the analytical framework. The exercises are guided and critically oriented and permit the student to examine various political questions, formulate hypotheses for investigation, analyze data, discuss findings, and develop generalizations and conclusions about the hypotheses.

These exercises do not lead students to certain "correct" conclusions but rather provide the opportunity for systematic and open investigation of political questions. The exercises are guided because the learning of inquiry skills does not occur by accident or by answering end-of-chapter questions. The student must be conscious of the method and have opportunities to practice and develop these skills.

Course materials with a conceptual framework that are more realistic and explanatory would be a vast improvement over traditional civics and government courses. These features make Politics

and Participation unique; however, to end civic education or citizenship education at this point would be shortsighted and would avoid some of the conflicting problems facing the public school.

Three crucial issues are avoided by ending the civics program with just a text. First, a better course in government and politics does not directly deal with students' unhappiness over what they feel is the antidemocratic nature of the school. Participation is studied in the abstract, in the safe confines of the classroom. This hardly lessens the student's frustration over being denied a part in the decision-making processes in the school.

Second, a course limited to only in-class activities does not permit the student to put his new political knowledge to use. The knowledge remains in a "holding pattern" to be used when and if ever needed, hence it loses much of its value.

Third, the student cannot directly apply knowledge and skills that are learned in such a course for the direct benefit of the overall school community. The school faces many problems -- maintaining stability, dealing with conflict situations, and planning for future growth and development. Everyone in it is influenced by the decisions that are made concerning these problems. It seems unfortunate that school authorities and students cannot share responsibly in approaching these important questions. Students from civics and government courses can provide additional insights and skills. In many cases these students will be the oldest in the school community and, for some, voting in presidential elections will be a reality. The school has a duty to call upon them to share in the operation of the school and to provide experiences for these young adults to assist them in becoming citizens in the larger

political community.

The Politics and Participation program therefore incorporates into its structure varied learning experiences which permit the practical application of classroom knowledge and skills. These learning experiences are centered around various investigative activities and laboratory experiences.

Within each unit of study there are a series of activities that focus on a particular political concept. These activities are primarily student-oriented in that they allow the student to take a major responsibility for the direction of his investigation. In some cases the class as a whole may be involved in the same general activity. In other cases, individual students or groups of students may be working separately on various problems. For example, during the discussion of participation in a political system, the class may be broken into several groups. Each student group might investigate the concept of participation from a different perspective. One might examine participation on the national level, and study voting laws, voting behavior, and discriminatory voting practices. Another might examine participation in the school -- traditional methods of student participation, unrepresented student groups, or ways in which students might more responsibly participate. A third group might examine participation patterns in other nations and study the different models of participation and compare these to the American system.

Occasionally the various individual study groups will meet as a class. These meetings will provide opportunities for the participants to share knowledge and synthesize information into generalizations about a particular concept of concern. Both students and

teacher will evaluate the progress that has been made. At these meetings new information also can be introduced and questions clarified.

At the conclusion of these activities the class once again meets as a whole, discusses the findings, relates them to the political concept in question, and relates the particular concept to the overall political system. Such an experience is synthesizing but also provides a basis from which to move to the discussion of the broader, more abstract model of the political system.

The goal of this varied learning experience is to provide the student with an understanding of abstract political concepts which can be applied to a variety of political experiences. Because abstractions are difficult to fully understand, the various group activities and more concrete laboratory experiences are used to clarify the concept. However, the final goal remains, that the student understand a particular political concept in the abstract and be able to relate this to other concepts and a model of politics. By doing so the student will be able to offer some explanatory generalizations about political questions.

Throughout the course of the year student activities take place in the school. The school in a sense serves as a laboratory in which students use the knowledge and skills that they have learned in the classroom. The school may serve as a political experience laboratory because it can be viewed as a political system. It has the characteristics of a political system. Political activities such as leadership, participation, communication, choices, influence, and conflict are present in schools. Why not study them in the school setting and relate them to the larger

political system?

The overall goals of the laboratory experience are: (1) to give students a concrete experience in understanding the concepts and problems of a political system; and (2) to provide opportunities for the student to understand the similarities and differences in problems that exist in the school and in the larger political community. Ideally the student is gaining knowledge and skills in the classroom which help him make decisions in the political community and at the same time has the opportunity to use these skills in the community in which he spends nine months out of every year -- the school. By "trying out" the knowledge and skills learned in the civics program there is a continual interaction between what is learned in the classroom and what is relevant to the life of the student.

Included in these laboratory experiences will be opportunities for students to take responsible action in the decision-making processes of the school. This may mean conducting surveys on students' attitudes toward various school problems, or serving on faculty-student committees to determine school policy. The range of activities will vary and will depend on the openness of the school's administration and faculty to student participation.

Goals of the Politics and Participation Program

The Politics and Participation program attempts to achieve the following educational goals. After experiencing such a program, a student will have:

1. A knowledge of the organization, operation, and interactions of a political system. This knowledge will be more than

facts and figures and will be based on an understanding of an analytical framework. This framework will enable the student to make explanatory generalizations about why a political system is the way it is, where it is going, and what factors influence its direction. This knowledge will be applicable to a variety of political systems.

2. Skills of critical inquiry. These skills will include asking pertinent questions, formalizing generalizations, applying the analytical framework to a political system, and making judgments concerning political questions and alternative political actions.

3. The ability to take the initiative in the investigation of educational questions. From the student-oriented learning experiences the student will learn to take responsibility for much of his own learning. He will become an independent learner who is able to draw on a variety of sources.

4. The ability to use social science data. This ability will include being able to analyze various data tables and to make inferences from these tables. It also will include the ability to analyze various social science investigative techniques such as survey research.

5. Increased political interest, political tolerance, and knowledge of scientific inquiry. By understanding the political system better students will find politics more interesting and feel that it can be understood more clearly. By learning the scientific approach to the solution of problems, students will be able to transfer this approach to the study of other problems.

6. A knowledge of the operation of and problems confronting the school. A student will have more knowledge of the operation of a school and the problems it faces because he will have participated in various administrative activities in the school. This will encourage positive attitudes toward the school.
7. A knowledge of the American political system. Although the course will be comparative in nature, the student will have ample opportunities to gain insight into the American political system. By examining other models, the unique features of this system will be demonstrated.

Summary

The Politics and Participation program seeks to correct two major problems confronting the school. First, it attempts to develop a civics course which enables a student to develop some explanatory generalizations about the operation, organization, and interaction of a political system. This increased explanatory power is accomplished through the application of an analytical framework to the common political experiences of change, maintenance, development, and conflict. These concepts are dealt with in a realistic manner and are clarified by comparative analysis.

Second, the program seeks to allow the student to participate in the school community and for the clarification of abstract political concepts through concrete experience. Various political concepts are examined by the class as a whole, by small study groups, and by individual students. The student applies his creative talents as well as classroom knowledge and skills in using the school as a

political experience laboratory. This can open the door for the student to participate responsibly in the school's decision-making processes.

The program intends to make the civics course a relevant and functional experience. It seeks to provide some answers to students' questions about politics and provide the skills and experiences to make political knowledge worthwhile. The program thus will benefit both the individual student and the larger school community.

Part II -- The Analytical Framework

Everyone wants to know something about politics. Students are asking why schools maintain rules which direct what they study and how they behave, or why the national government can force them to fight in a war which they did not begin and in which they do not believe. Members of communities are asking why industry can continue to pollute the air or why the cost of living keeps climbing. All of these individuals want to understand the way that political decisions affect their lives. Many of them also want to do something, to participate in making political decisions that vitally affect them.

One way to begin understanding politics is to explore what is common in every political system, whether that system is the school, the community, or the nation-state. In any of these political systems, individuals share common political experiences. They feel the impact of *political change* because different policies affect whether a son gets a scholarship to go to school or a minority group can vote. They are influenced by the *rules or decisions maintained* in the political system because they act in accordance with laws. They experience the *political development* of the system because increases in bureaucracy make welfare action more complicated or mass communication gives them instantaneous information about political events. They also become frustrated by *political conflict* because their work is threatened by demonstrations or a building in the community is bombed.

The primary purpose of an analytical framework is to encourage the exploration of these common political experiences by organizing

and integrating relevant political knowledge. The framework developed here is based on the four common political experiences of change, maintenance, development, and conflict. The analytical structure is built by introducing political concepts which aid in explaining these experiences. The concepts included are political influence, political resources, political ideology, political decision-making, political leadership, political participation, and political communication. Comparative analysis is used in order to develop and relate the concepts that eventually will allow one to make generalizations.

However, the framework cannot end with generalizations about political knowledge. Just as most people want to know something about politics, so does each person put his political knowledge to use. Whether an individual reflects upon and evaluates politics or actually participates in making political decisions, he must necessarily make choices between alternative states of his political world. He decides whether he supports or opposes what is happening based upon his evaluation of how the present political system is acting. He decides when and where to act considering the consequences that his actions will have on the future operation of the system as a whole. Each of these decisions involve comparisons between the status of the political world as it is and some future status. In order to provide guidelines for making these comparisons and choices, the analytical framework must generate alternative models of the future based on various changes in present political conditions. The analytical framework developed here generates these models by using generalizations to develop alternative ways that systems might change and demonstrating the consequences of such

changes for the future.

The Basis for the Framework

The four common political experiences of change, maintenance, development, and conflict constitute the basis for the analytical framework. Many other experiences could have been chosen such as democratization or modernization. However, the more general types permit analysis of the characteristics of a larger range of specific experiences. The direction of the framework is determined by how these general types of experiences are defined and the kinds of questions that are asked.

The formation of the definitions is guided by a certain way of looking at a political system. A political system is viewed as a set of activities through which values[13] are allocated. Political systems exhibit certain characteristic values and activities. Characteristic political values include political influence, political resources, and political ideology. Characteristic political activities are decision-making, participation, leadership, and communication. Common political experiences, then, are viewed as a product of the relationship between the values and the activities which comprise the political system. For example, political change can be looked upon as a result of decision-making activities through which political resources are distributed. When political decisions are made which influence the distribution of resources to move from

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[13]The term "political values" is frequently used in two different ways: (1) a set of beliefs about political goals, i.e., freedom, and (2) a set of desirable resources. Throughout this paper, the term is used with the latter meaning. The definition stems from the work of David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley, 1965), p. 21.

an unequal to a better balanced share of wealth for members of the political system over time, then political change has occurred. State-federal revenue sharing is an example of this type of political change.

With this way of looking at the political system in mind, the four common political experiences are defined as follows:

1. Political change is defined as a difference in system characteristics and relationships over time. The formation of a third party movement in a two-party system is an example of political change. The change involves an activity characteristic of the political system, political participation, with an increase in that activity over time as the system grew from two-party to three-party participation.

2. Political maintenance is defined as a similarity in system characteristics and relationships over time. The stability of the institutional arrangements of checks-and-balances between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government in the United States over time is an example of political maintenance. Maintenance involves stabilizing a value characteristic of the political system, political influence. The formal political influence relationships between the three branches of government have remained relatively stable since their establishment in the Constitution.

3. Political development is defined as a directed difference in system characteristics and relationships over time. Development is similar to change, yet development includes

only those changes which accumulate in the same direction over an extended period of time. If a two-party system first experiences an extension of the franchise, then a third party movement is born, and then that party begins to take on leadership positions in the government, political development has occurred. In this case, development involves an increase over time in the characteristic activity of political participation. The direction of the increase is toward more inclusive party participation in government.

4. Political conflict is defined as an inequality in the distribution of values within system characteristics over time. A system in which very few official policy-makers hold most of the political power to make decisions and the majority of the population is powerless is an example of political conflict. The conflict involves a value characteristic of the political system, political influence. This particular definition of political conflict moves away from the classification of specific kinds of activities such as riots, demonstrations, or revolutionary movements to a more fundamental attribute of the political system. Conflict is inequality. The inequality may be counterproductive or productive and manifest itself in riots or in innovation.

The rationale for defining the four common political experiences in this way is twofold. First, the experiences are tied directly to the fundamental characteristic values and activities which constitute a political system. Knowledge of the experiences

will thus be consistent with the way a political system is viewed as a whole. This point is important, for if conflict, for example, is viewed as a riot or a demonstration without any link to characteristic activities in the system, then it stands as a unique event without a useful analytical interpretation. In order to study how conflict affects the operation of the system as a whole, it must be defined in a way that is comparable to other experiences being studied under any given definition of politics. Second, definition of the experiences encourages the exploration of basic questions about politics by providing a focus for questions and a means of identifying relevant knowledge for answering them.

The basic questions that most people want to explore about a political experience include: (1) What is happening? (2) How many people are involved or how intense is the experience? (3) Why is it happening? and (4) What effect will it have? The definitions of the common experiences aid in exploring these questions. The focus on system characteristics aids in the exploration of what is happening. For example, the question "What is changing?" is often answered by citing a series of unique events such as the rise of student movements, strikes, and demonstrations. Using the definition of political change provided above, the student can see these events as part of a characteristic activity in the political system, political participation. Grouping events in this way permits him to interpret and relate this experience to others in a meaningful way.

An individual, knowing that these experiences constituted change in political participation and recognizing a conflict in beliefs, or political ideology, between students and administrators,

labor and management, or government and public opinion, could reason that the changes in participation were brought about by this situation of conflict. This kind of reasoning would lead him to answers to his "why" questions. Determining the extent to which people were involved in the conflict and change would facilitate answers to the question of "how much." Bringing in additional information of the relationship between change and other characteristic values and activities of the system would help to determine the effect of changes in participation on the future operation of the system as a whole. The definitions thus promote the understanding of basic questions in a systematic way. However, how deeply the questions are understood depends largely on the rest of the analytical structure built upon this beginning.

The Structure of the Framework

The four political experiences defined and developed as the basis of the framework have a common focus on system characteristics. These characteristics draw the framework away from unique experiences of any single political system or group of individuals to the more general experiences common to all systems. What general system characteristics can be chosen to serve as a guide in the exploration of questions? The answer depends largely on the initial definition of politics. Politics for our purposes is defined as an activity through which values are allocated. The fundamental characteristics included in the framework are then necessarily divided into two types: political values and political activities relevant to value allocation. The relevant range of political values needs to include deference values such as political power, welfare values such as

political resources, and goal-oriented values such as political ideology.[14] The relevant range of political activities needs to include decision-making, leadership, participation, and communication. Other characteristics could surely have been chosen, but these seem to tap the range needed for exploring questions. Each of these characteristics will be defined and elaborated in the following paragraphs. The range of plausible relationships between concepts will then be presented to complete the analytical structure.

What do people value in politics? The President and the Senate conflict over priorities for making foreign policy. Boards of Trustees or school boards and administrators conflict over dress codes and outside speakers for the school community. Students and parents debate with faculty and community leaders over rules and plans for the future. Each group values the ability to make decisions which affect its own and others' everyday living. In short, each group values political influence.

In the same sense, many citizens from the President to the community member value the political resources which determine how decisions will be implemented. The citizen demonstrating for the right to vote, the Congressman arguing for major federal projects in his state, the President seeking information about the state of the economy or the political stability of another nation -- all desire to have the legal, monetary, or informational resources necessary to get things done. Why do all these people want influence

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[14]For a complete explanation of deference and welfare values, see Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), pp. 55-74.

and resources? All have an idea or a whole set of ideas about the system; they have goals for the system. In the United States, goals are tied to a more general set of beliefs about democracy, the role of the individual in politics, the role of the government, and the kinds of acceptable behavior related to everyday political activity. These goals or ideas set important limits on actions within the political system. Goals vary from political system to political system, yet in each case in which people value ideas, they are concerned about political ideology. These three political values -- influence, resources, and ideology -- are defined in the framework in the following ways:

1. Political influence is defined as the capacity of an individual or group to make decisions that affect others. As a characteristic of a political system, the distribution of the capacity to make decisions is important. This distribution is determined by defining who makes decisions in the system and who is affected by those decisions.[15] Under this topic falls the discussion of important decision-making institutions in the political system, their interrelationships, and especially their relationship to the groups in which decisions will be implemented.
2. Political resources are defined as the legal, material, and informational means individuals or groups use to engage in political activity. As a characteristic of the political system, the kinds and distribution of these means are

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[15]Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, "Decisions and Non-Decisions: An Analytical Framework," American Political Science Review, 57 (September, 1963), 632-642.

important. The distribution is determined by defining who holds these resources and who receives resources allocated by political decisions. This topic includes the utilization of the vote, the law, monetary funds, and skills by political actors.

3. Political ideology is defined as a set of beliefs about the principles, programs, and actions governing behavior in politics.[16] As a characteristic of the political system, the substance and the range of these beliefs is important. The structure of political ideology is determined by the analysis of the short-run and long-run goal orientation of actors in the political system.

Based on these definitions, the three values can be related. There are a wide range of relationships among them, yet certain things are immediately evident. The degree to which an individual has influence depends a great deal on the political resources at his command. His use of resources is guided by the basic beliefs he holds about the goals of the political system. His beliefs, in turn, guide the types of decisions he will make and who will be affected by them. Investigating these basic relationships in the framework emphasizes the interdependence of all three system characteristics. Changes or modifications of ideology, influence, or resources do not stand alone; changes in one will entail changes in the others.

An illustration of these relationships and the effects of

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[16]Robert E. Lane, Political Ideology (New York: The Free Press, 1962), pp. 14-15.

change can be illustrated in the actions of the President. One of the major ideological divisions between political actors in the United States has been over the role of government in the political system. Since the Franklin Delano Roosevelt administration, the national government has sought to encourage and implement national programs aiding in the resolution of problems of city conflict and poverty. The President, using the influence of his position, has attempted to marshall resources toward this goal. Now, under the Nixon administration, the President proposes that revenue sharing be incorporated as a government program. The change in ideological emphasis of the President has a great many ramifications for other values. Many resources will be distributed to states and cities. The influence of the national government over these measures will be minimal. Thus, the change in beliefs about goals has had direct effect on the distribution of political resources and the structure of political influence in the national political system.

What are the major activities through which these values are implemented? Implementation depends upon decision-making. For values to be allocated at all, individuals or groups must make choices between alternative solutions to political problems. The ways in which decisions are made will affect who is influenced, the resources distributed to individuals and groups, and the support that is given for any set of beliefs.

Another major kind of activity which influences the ways in which values are allocated is political leadership. Whether a leader uses force, appeals to legal authority, or asserts a charismatic pull on a population has great effect on the kinds of resources he will use and the support he will get from a population

for any policy that he attempts to implement. That support is also dependent upon political participation, for implementation depends largely on the grass-root strategies that are available for individuals to demonstrate support or discontent. Finally, the entire leader-follower relationship necessary for political actions depends upon the structure of the communication system available for leaders to assert policies and for followers to voice support or discontent.

These four political activities -- decision-making, leadership, participation, and communication -- are defined in the framework in the following ways:

1. Political decision-making is defined as the process through which choices are made between alternative solutions to problems. As a system characteristic, the focus of the concept is developed around the rules that are made for making decisions and the outcomes of those decisions.[17] The relevant range of rules which come under discussion would then be a range from unanimity to dictatorship decision rules and outcomes including within and between system interactions.
2. Political leadership is defined as the way in which influence is exercised in a political system.[18] The focus of this concept is on what may be termed as "style" -- whether

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[17]James M. Buchanan and Gorden Tullock, The Calculus of Consent (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967).

[18]James G. March, "The Power of Power," in Varieties of Political Theory, ed. by David Easton (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), pp. 39-40.

a leader used force, personal charisma, or authority to influence others to support his actions.

3. Political participation is defined as alternative ways in which organized political activity is undertaken in the political system.[19] Voting behavior, party activity, interest group organization, and political demonstrations are all relevant organized activities for study under this concept. As a system characteristic, participation can be viewed in terms of the kinds of participation open to a population as well as the amount.

4. Political communication is defined as the flow of information in a political system. As a system characteristic, the emphasis in the concept is on the network of formal and informal communication lines between political actors.[20] The topic would include discussion of the ways in which decision-makers gather information through use of staff, meetings, informal gatherings as well as the major communication lines through the media in a political system. In the national system communication would include major meetings and media; in the school system this concept could be exemplified by administration and faculty meetings, newsletters, and the student newspaper.

The relationships between these characteristics take many forms. The rules for making decisions and the outcomes of the process are

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[19]Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), pp. 9-38.

[20]Karl W. Deutsch, The Nerves of Government (New York: The Free Press, 1966).

influenced by the ways in which decision-makers use influence. The ways in which citizens choose to participate in politics are affected by the communication structure through which they can make their efforts felt. The kinds of leadership exercised in the system influence the ways in which citizens support that leadership through participation.

Each of these relationships is as important for understanding the political system as the concepts themselves. The relationships become important because the concepts are not studied for their own sake but because they are useful for answering questions about politics. Thorough knowledge of various ways in which decisions are made will aid an individual in discriminating similarities and differences between the operation of a school board and a congressional committee, but it will not answer the question of <u>why</u> decisions are made in one way rather than another. Furthermore, if decision-making changes, the knowledge of kinds of decision-making will not answer the question of <u>what effect</u> the change has on students or the bills passing through the Congress. The answers to these questions can only be determined when the relationship between decision-making and other values and activities of the system is made clear. Unless the individual can determine, for example, how decision-making is influenced by the particular system's goal orientation, or political ideology, he cannot answer why one system adopts majority rule and another supports dictatorship rule. Unless he can determine how decision-making influences the distribution of political resources in the system, he cannot answer what effect choosing one rule rather than another has on the members of the system.

The structure of the analytical framework is therefore built by these seven concepts and their interrelationships. The concepts have been defined, but the relationships posited have been very general. These relationships become more specific when comparative analysis is introduced. Comparison aids in the specification of relationships in two ways. First, the analysis of different political systems promotes the development of a range of values on any characteristic. The analysis of decision-making, for example, is usefully supplemented by moving from the American system under a majority rule to the Communist Chinese system under a party dictatorship rule. Second, comparisons also help specify general relationships among concepts.

Two general types of relationships can be highlighted through an example. Let us suppose for the moment that our study of politics includes only two political systems.[21] The first political system demonstrates a unanimity rule for decision-making and a relatively equal distribution of political resources. The second political system demonstrates a dictatorship rule for decision-making and a relatively unequal distribution of political resources. The range of values on the concepts is great. Yet, there is a general relationship between decision-making and political resources which exists in both systems. It could be concluded that as resources become more equally distributed in the system, decision-makers utilize more of a unanimity rule for choice. The basic relationship between decision-making and resources is thus <u>negative</u>.

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[21]The prototype for this example can be found in James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock, <u>The Calculus of Consent</u> (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), pp. 63 ff.

On the other hand, suppose our study of politics for these same nations includes the study of political participation. In system one, participation is very high, and in system two participation is very low. It could be concluded that as the unanimity rule for decision-making increases, participation increases. The relationship between decision-making and participation is positive.

The simplicity of the hypothetical illustration is nowhere duplicated in actual political analysis. Nor is political theory developed enough to handle very powerful theoretical generalizations. Yet, through comparison of very different kinds of systems, these relationships can be clarified and the framework for descriptions as well as explanations set. Comparison produces a wide range of analytical categories for analysis, and a look at the similarities and differences between system characteristics aids in understanding the interrelationship of the component parts of any political system.

The potential of the analytical structure can be outlined by returning to the initial political experiences and questions which stimulated it. How is understanding these experiences promoted by the framework? It has been previously stated that an individual asking the question "What has changed?" in the U.S. political system will look at events such as the rise of student movements, strikes, and demonstrations. The analytical framework offers him seven general categories for understanding those experiences. In this case, he will begin to understand the change in terms of a concept of political participation. That is, political participation is the system characteristic which differs from a previous time. It differs because a new kind of political participation has arisen --

organized political movements using extra-legal authority -- and because more people are participating. Using the framework, the student will then begin to understand why participation is changing because he knows that a general relationship exists between participation, decision-making, and resources. The relationship states that participation generally increases when decision-making moves to include more people in the rules for making choices and when inequalities in the distribution of political resources are reduced. Because the relationship between participation and decision-making is positive and the relationship between participation and resources is negative, it could be concluded that the effect of this change in the long run can be determined by continuing decreases in the inequality of resources and continuing increases in the basis for making decisions. In this way, the individual can find general explanations for common political experiences and answers to some of his fundamental questions using the framework.

The Utility of the Framework

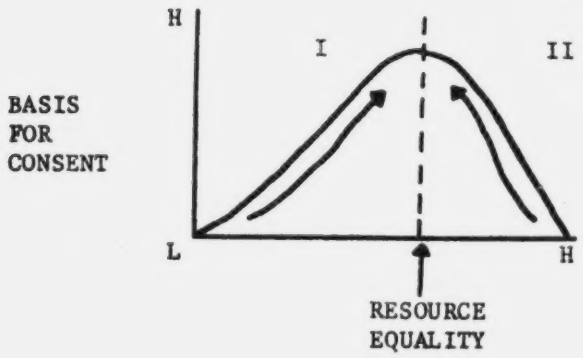
The primary use of the analytical framework is to encourage a way of thinking about politics which anticipates the future. It can also give the future political actor some guidelines for interpreting the consequences of his actions for the system as a whole. The framework has this potential because it is formulated to generate some alternative models for evaluation and action. The bases for the models are constructed from the generalizations produced through the analytical framework. Through these generalizations models of political change, political maintenance, political development, and political conflict are developed. Each model then

focuses on one of the four political experiences and includes some of all of the seven characteristics and their relationships.

The schema for one set of alternative models can be demonstrated easily here. Two alternative models of political change can be constructed from the characteristics of political decision-making, political resources, and their interrelationships. Political change has been defined as a difference in system characteristics and relationships over time. Let us suppose that we are interested in changes in the rules for political decision-making over time. We are trying to determine from generalizations about changes in decision-making the alternative ways that the basis for consent (number of people consulted) on decisions can be increased and what effect the increase will have on the operation of the system as a whole. A student who desired student representation in important curriculum or rule decisions in a school might ask this question as well as a labor union member who wanted his views to be felt by union leaders.

The following generalizations about political change in decision-making could form the basis for generating alternative models of the effects of changes in the basis of consent:

1. The relationship between basis for consent in decision-making and political resources is curvilinear. That is, as the equality in the distribution of resources increases, the basis for consent in decisions increases. However, when resource equality reaches a certain point, then the basis for consent begins to decrease. The relationship is illustrated in the following graph.



2. The relationship between resource equality and participation in the political system is negative. As the equality in the distribution of resources increases, political participation decreases.

From these two generalizations, alternative models of political change can be constructed. The first model is illustrated in the left section of the graph. When resource equality is relatively low, the basis of consent for decisions can be increased by increasing the equality in the distribution of political resources. The effect of this change is a decrease in political participation in the system.

The second model is illustrated in the right section of the graph. When resource equality is relatively high, the basis of consent for decisions can be increased by decreasing the equality in the distribution of political resources. The effect of this change is an increase in political participation in the system.

Thus, the individual desiring to determine how decision-making can be changed first evaluates the position of the system on several characteristics and then determines which actions are necessary for the changes. He evaluates these changes in terms of their

effect on participation in the system. The individual analyzing the question of change thus has two very different consequences to consider. In the first model he achieves his goal by sacrificing political participation. In the second model he loses equality in the distribution of political resources. The models offer him a way of evaluating the effects of his decisions to participate in given ways in the political system or alternative ways of thinking about and evaluating the state of the political system.

Again the caveat holds, that political analysis is not as simple as this hypothetical case. The data that will be brought to bear on actual analysis will fall into less clearly distinguished categories. Yet here, again, the framework promotes a way of thinking about politics that, however tentatively developed, gives the student ways of thinking about politics with which he can find reasonable answers to his questions in the present and anticipate the consequences of his actions in the future.

Part III -- Learning Experiences

An integral part of the Politics and Participation program is a varied learning program. Throughout the study of the political system the student will be engaged in a number of learning activities and experiences enabling him to apply classroom knowledge. Underlying this varied learning program is the belief that understanding is not attained until the student becomes actively involved in the learning process and realizes that knowledge has real meaning for him. This well-known assumption serves as the pedagogical basis for the course.

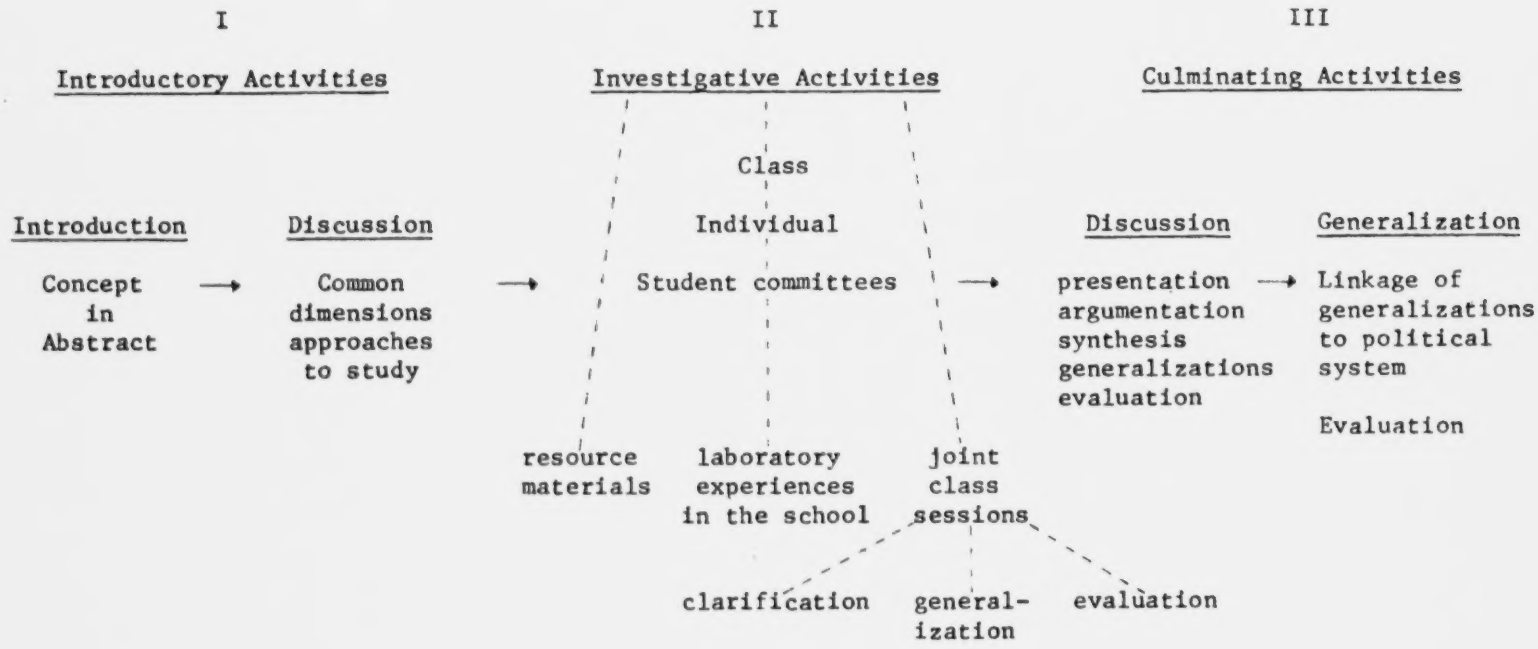
The core of the program is a set of resource materials and suggested activities. The materials present the analytical framework and various applications. The content of the materials is broken into several units of study (see Part IV -- Course Outline). Within each of these units the student (1) finds a variety of information and exercises aimed at clarifying the political concepts under investigation; (2) applies classroom knowledge and skills to practical experiences; and (3) learns about and participates in the political life of his school. Many of these activities occur within the classroom, but others require student activity outside the classroom. The school community is the scene for many of these out-of-class experiences.

Each unit of study is divided into three phases. First, students are introduced to an abstract political concept through a gaming situation or some other introductory activity. The purpose of this activity is for the student to discover the various dimensions of the concept. Each dimension is elaborated and common

elements identified. The class then moves to the second stage -- the exploration of each dimension. These investigative activities may involve the class as a whole, with each student working individually, or groups of students working together. Throughout the unit students use various resource materials, have practical laboratory experiences in the school, and meet in joint class sessions to clarify various questions, generalize from the information gathered, and evaluate their progress. After a particular concept has been investigated, the students move to the third and final stage. This culminating stage serves as a platform for the final analysis of a particular concept. Students present information they have gathered, discuss it, and make some conclusions concerning this information. The concept not only is linked to particular political questions but also to a more general model of politics.

The overall goals of this varied learning experience are to introduce the student to an abstract political concept, provide him with concrete experiences to solidify his understanding of the abstraction, and help him answer important questions about the political system in which he lives. The program attempts to break the student out of the role of a passive observer in the educational process. The learning activities seek to provide the knowledge, skills, and opportunities for the student to acquire a broader social education, one which is relevant to his present situation and also to the future. The following diagram illustrates this program.

LEARNING ACTIVITIES



This general learning process can be further illustrated by examining the investigation of the concept of political influence. Political influence may be introduced in the abstract through a gaming situation. The students divide into small groups. Each group plays a game with like rules but different influence relationships. From this initial experience, students then discuss the concept of influence and its dimensions.

Four dimensions of political influence are highlighted: (1) formal influence, indicated by the position of the players in the games; (2) the influence situation presented by the various settings or backgrounds; (3) informal influence, pinpointed by bargaining situations; and (4) factors which affect influence, such as knowledge, wealth, or status.

The topic of formal influence is introduced through generalizations about influence relationships in many political systems. Five different systems, found in the resource material, offer concrete examples of similarities and differences in influence relationships. The generalizations and comparisons are introduced through text materials and outside sources. Students then divide into groups to explore the concept of formal influence. Four groups are created to study the following areas: (1) the organization of the school through charts and interviews with key people; (2) the organization of the most influential members of each of the five political systems contained in the resource materials; (3) the organization of the followers or less influential members of each of the five systems through analysis of additional materials; and (4) the background of those who are influential through biographical analysis from library resources.

When analysis is completed by the individual student groups, the class meets together to talk about formal influence and to draw generalizations from the students' experiences and knowledge. Students then begin the investigation of the other aspects of influence. Throughout these experiences the civics teacher acts as a source of information, a coordinator, a stimulator, and a synthesizer of knowledge.

The final phase of investigation includes discussing the concept, using it in a summary experience, and relating it to previously learned concepts. The intent of the general discussion is to clarify the original definition. The summary experience, a simulation, draws out the relationships between formal and informal influence in various decision-making situations. Following this activity is a "debriefing" period which is devoted to demonstrating how the concept of influence relates to other concepts. The final exercises are the evaluation of these generalizations in light of the total analytical framework and the use of the framework to answer relevant questions. In this way the student explores a single concept, relates it to others, and draws generalizations which build cumulatively into a more general analytical framework -- all for the purpose of answering common political questions.

The above illustration indicates a fundamental change in the teacher's role. The varied activities which form the core of each unit will promote student interaction through which students learn from the experiences of other students. Students will be given considerable freedom to choose which activities they undertake and responsibility for communicating or teaching what they learn from those activities to others. The teacher therefore will no longer

be the dominant feature in the learning process. He will be a catalyst in a student-centered learning experience.

Another important part of the learning experience is a set of activities which occurs in the larger school community. Throughout the course of the year various investigative activities will take place outside the classroom and in the larger school community. The school will serve as a political-experience laboratory for the civics program. Seldom has the school been used to assist the student to gain practical experiences for understanding classroom knowledge. Most courses choose to keep to a minimum student movement outside of the classroom. Activities such as oral reports, posters, bulletin boards, debates, and invited speakers dominate lists of suggested activities. If laboratory experiences are suggested, most suggest activities out of the school -- learning experiences in the community and civic education through civic action.

Two obstacles stand in the way of wide acceptance of community programs. First, the organization of the school makes sending large numbers of students into the community most difficult. Most senior high schools are organized in 50- to 60-minute class periods. Students are in civics classes for only one period and are expected to reach their next class on time. It is quite difficult to arrange for large numbers of students to leave school for any length of time, unless teachers use time periods after the school day. However, most teachers are reluctant to use this time because of extracurricular activities.

Second, such a program requires a tremendous amount of coordination, cooperation, and concern from the school and community. In order to make these community experiences in politics worthwhile,

school officials, local politicians, and civic leaders must be willing to give time and energy. The teaching responsibility is broadened to include many other individuals. Problems in developing, coordinating, and sustaining such interest are monumental, and a large portion of this burden falls on the shoulders of the civics teacher who lacks the information and time to solve such problems.

It is not the intent of the above remarks to suggest that these activities are not worthwhile or of high educational value, for indeed they are. However, developing a community action or laboratory experience for civics students is difficult and time consuming, and few schools are willing to invest the effort. As a consequence, the vast majority of students do not gain any practical experience in using their political knowledge and skills. More important, a community laboratory experience does little to change what students feel is the anti-democratic nature of the school itself. After being sent into the community to learn about politics, students must return to a situation in which they have few participatory rights.

The Politics and Participation program seeks to avoid these problems and to provide opportunities for the student to responsibly participate in the school community and to gain practical knowledge about political concepts learned in the classroom. The school-laboratory activities of the program are designed to send a small group of students "out" into the school to investigate various questions. Most of the time needed for these activities will come from the civics class, and relatively few occasions will arise in which all the students in a particular class will be out of class

investigating a particular problem.

The activities involved are quite varied. In the earlier example on studying political influence, one group of students used the school setting for information. Their activities included getting organizational material about the school and interviewing selected school authorities. Neither of these activities would necessarily involve much out-of-class time; however, the school serves as a setting in which such information can be gathered. At other times students might conduct attitudinal surveys, observe meetings, present programs, and serve as assistants to various leaders and on various committees.

From these laboratory experiences opportunities will arise that will permit students to participate in the decision-making process of the school. The number of opportunities and their scope, of course, depend on the willingness and openness of the school's administration and faculty. Responsible participation can take many forms. A newspaper column on the various problems facing the school or society might be one. Such a column could incorporate data gathered by students, knowledge about conflict and change learned in the classroom, and a variety of other sources. Responsible participation also might be student representation on various school committees. The power and scope of these committees could vary. Students also might work with other groups of students whose feelings and attitudes are not represented in the school.

Providing opportunities for students to use classroom knowledge and to participate in the school fosters important advantages for the individual student and the school itself. The gap between

step of increased student participation in the school. It is a program designed to help the student and school answer the questions and face the problems that will arise in the 1970's.

Part IV -- Course Outline

The following course outline represents a summary of some of the ways that the analytical framework, the learning experiences, and the school laboratory experience are integrated. The course is designed for two semesters but a semester may be used alone, without using the other. The first semester focuses on the formation of generalizations from basic political concepts and relationships. It provides information about the basic values and activities of a political system. The second semester uses the generalizations in the study of experiences common across political systems: political change, political maintenance, political development, and political conflict. The course is comparative, and systems will be chosen for analysis which demonstrate significant differences in fundamental value and activity characteristics.

Semester I

Unit I. Ways of Thinking about Political Questions. The first unit introduces students to the political system. Fundamental questions about politics are introduced, and various ways of thinking about answers are presented, such as description, explanation, prediction, and normative evaluation. The seven basic concepts and their interrelationships are introduced via concrete school experiences. The fundamentals of comparative analysis are demonstrated through comparison of different school environments.

Unit II. Political Values. The second unit develops the three characteristic political values of political resources, political influence, and political ideology. Students learn each concept through the study of various systems presented in the text material.

Concrete learning experiences include discussion, library work, reports, and gaming situations. As a result of studying this unit, students understand each concept and its relation to other concepts. Through the school laboratory experiences, students learn the basic formal and informal organization of the school, the ways in which resources are allocated, and the basic goals under which the system operates.

Unit III. Political Activities. The third unit develops the four characteristic political activities of decision-making, leadership, participation, and communication. As in Unit II, students learn each concept through the study of various systems presented in the text material. Concrete learning experiences include participation in school meetings, student activities, survey work, discussions, library work, and gaming situations. As a result of studying this unit, students understand each concept and its relation to other concepts. Through the school laboratory experiences, students learn about participation in the basic decision-making processes of the school, the various ways of undertaking leadership activities, patterns of participation of administrators, faculty, and students, and the communication networks among these groups.

Unit IV. Generalizations about Political Values and Activities. The fourth unit develops generalizations about the different ways in which values are allocated through activities in the political system. Students learn various ways of forming generalizations from data in Units II and III. They develop data from their school experience and learn techniques of data analysis and scientific inquiry. As a result of studying this unit, students can understand how summary generalizations are made from their study of concepts

and relationships. They learn to collect their own data in the school, to formulate hypotheses, and to test and evaluate these hypotheses in relation to their varied school experiences.

Semester II

Unit V. The Utilization of Political Knowledge: Analysis and Evaluation. The fifth unit introduces students to various ways in which generalizations can be put to use in rational ways of thinking about political questions and responsible evaluation of consequences of political action. Students actively debate and discuss the generalizations formed in the first semester from various points of view and learn criteria for determining the validity of generalizations and their applicability to practical situations. As a result of studying this unit, students become aware of different criteria for evaluation of alternative generalizations and are prepared to begin determining alternative models of political change.

Unit VI. Political Change. The sixth unit develops the concept of political change and provides applications of the concept in terms of alternative theories of change through comparison of the different systems under study. Alternative models of political change are illustrated through text materials, and students are encouraged to discuss and develop these models in their practical school experience. As a result of studying this unit, students understand the concept of change and the consequences of various types of change for the operation of the system as a whole.

Unit VII. Political Maintenance. The seventh unit develops the concept of political maintenance and provides applications of the concept in terms of alternative forms of support, control, and

competition. Alternative models of political maintenance are introduced through text materials. Students are encouraged to determine the basic sources of support, control, and competition in the school environment. As a result of studying this unit, students understand why various institutions and rules for behavior have continued to exist over time in political systems. They also are able to link the maintenance concept to the concept of change to determine the effects of maintaining certain institutions and rules for behavior and changing others.

Unit VIII. Political Development. The eighth unit introduces students to the concept of political development, alternative models of growth of political systems, the direction and rate of growth. Students are presented with alternative models of political development through text materials. They are given alternative theories of how systems develop and change through comparison of various political systems. They are encouraged to trace the development of their school system and to form generalizations about past, present, and plausible future development in the schools. As a result of studying this unit, students are able to understand the various patterns of political development and to identify those patterns in terms of their school experience.

Unit IX. Political Conflict. The ninth unit introduces students to the concept of political conflict. They look at alternative models of conflict through revolution or demonstration and examine basic inequalities in the system. Students study the intensity of conflict situations and alternative means of conflict resolution. By comparing various political systems, students discover the range of conflict in a wide variety of situations.

As a result of studying this unit, students learn the concept of conflict, its application in the environment of the school, and the relationship of conflict to change, maintenance, and development in the political system.